

PEACE NEWS

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An end of empires?

THE Soviet-Chinese treaty goes a long way towards assuring a period of stability in the Far East.

In the Chungking-Yenan dispute, the treaty comes down unequivocally on the side of Chungking, recognised as the Central Government whose authority and administration are to be respected. That, of course, will not enable Chungking to impose its own terms on Yenan; but it may induce Yenan to seek agreement with Chungking—already the reluctant Mao-Tse Tung, the Yenan leader, has agreed to meet Chiang—and above all it may

Observer's Commentary

avert the danger of civil war in China, with Yenan supported by Russia, and Chungking by the USA. Even a temporary postponement of that catastrophe will be a godsend.

Chinese sovereignty over Manchuria and Inner Mongolia is recognized in full. There is to be joint Soviet-Chinese control of the Chinese Eastern and South Manchuria railways, as of Port Arthur itself. All that is required of China is that she should surrender her sovereignty in Outer Mongolia, if a plebiscite confirms the Russian claims. On the whole, this must be reckoned a generous settlement on Russia's part, and evidence of a real desire on her part to promote the stability of the Far East.

"Quit India" next?

THE Labour Government is going to have a very difficult job in convincing the "progressives" all over the world that it is not another case of "the more it changes, the more it is the same thing." The case of India is crucial.

British policy in India cannot fail to be affected by Russian and American policy towards China. The naval and industrial supremacy to which Britain owed her dominant position in the Far East in the 19th century is gone. She is now merely a courtesy third. If Russia and USA agree, as they appear to have done, to respect the new nationalist China, then Britain will find herself in an impossible position

(CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

LIBERATION

JERSEY has been liberated. Peace News has particular reason to rejoice over it, because a gift from the Jersey Groups of the PPU has enabled the Peace News fund to pass the £6,000 mark.

This latest £1,000 has been slow going. The sudden final spurt, for which we have to thank the Jersey groups, is of the happiest augury. We may yet be able to claim the substantial gifts promised us if we can reach £7,000 by the end of the year.

There is some chance that, next spring, the ration of newsprint will increase, so that 6-page issues will be the rule and not the exception. The quality of the articles and correspondence now reaching the Editor is evidence of a new sensibility and comprehensiveness in the pacifist imagination. It will be owing to the generosity of readers in establishing and supporting the fund that we shall be able to seize the opportunity of expansion when it comes.

Contributions since Aug. 17: £25 7s. 3d. Total to date: £6,018 15s. 10d.

THE EDITOR

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Peace News, Ltd., and address them to the Accountant, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

ONLY THING THAT CAN SAVE US

Turn away from evil tradition of self-interest

The following moving appeal for Britain to make "an act of genuine repentance" in international affairs was made by Mr. Victor Gollancz in a letter published in Monday's News Chronicle. That newspaper declared in a leading article that the letter would be "approved by all."

ON Monday, Aug. 20, there was an article in one of the daily newspapers from its Berlin Correspondent with the headline "Despair hordes swamp Berlin."

Here are some phrases from it: "It is the turn of the Germans now... the Poles and the Czechs who have turned their backs on the Germans out have done a thorough job. Along the borders of the British and American occupied zones and inside Russian occupied Germany, hordes of hungry, hopeless Germans, expelled from Sudetenland, from East Prussia, and from Upper Silesia, are gathering."

"There are probably millions of them—but no one can count. There are old men, women with babies, children who have lost their parents, prisoners of war from camps in the Urals."

"All of them know now that war does not pay. All of them look wretchedly unlike the so-called Master Race. . . . You can see them coming in, hoping to stay, but going out again beaten and defeated, all of them. . . . Twenty-four hours of feeding with watery soup, ersatz coffee, and black bread, and off they go again. . . ."

"They say that their real troubles began after the Potsdam declaration 'that the transfer to Germany of German populations, or elements thereof, remaining in Poland, Czechoslovakia or Hungary, will have to be undertaken.' . . ."

"They are arriving in a dreadful condition, their feet wrapped in rags, hardly able to walk at all. . . . What is the future of these miserable millions? A British officer whose job it is to observe these things gave me one answer."

"'Germany cannot support them,' he said. 'They will die by the thousand this winter. The Germans are responsible for their own nationals, and they will be hard put to it to feed those already here.'"

"Truly, retribution has come to the Germans."

When recently I wrote to another newspaper about a similar piece of devilry, I was rebuked by the editor, who did not print my letter, for exhibiting "useless moral indignation." But isn't it precisely moral indignation that is wanted today? Isn't the world going to hell for the lack of it?

Described in those phrases I have quoted, which can be read in a minute but which spell hopeless agony, hour by hour and day by day, for millions, is all the Nazi foulness against which we fought—the cruelty that spares neither old men nor orphans, nor even babies in arms, the self-centred nationalism, the racial intolerance, the hatred and revenge, and, what is at the bottom of it all, an utter forgetfulness of the only thing that matters—which is that a man is a man first, and a German, a Czech, or a Pole a long way afterwards.

People talk of international machinery for controlling the atomic bomb. What a mockery this is when, even while they talk, the nations are showing, and more unashamedly than ever before, that they put national self-interest, or what they stupidly imagine to be national self-interest, before any virtue or any duty, no matter how intolerable the suffering they may thereby cause to others.

A sort of new morality is indeed springing up, which regards mercy and pity, William Blake's virtues of delight," as not merely irrelevant, but positively disgraceful.

Only the other day the BBC, after telling us of the ghastly conditions in German hospitals, felt it necessary to conform to modern standards by hurriedly adding that it did so not to arouse pity for our late enemies, but because it would be inexpedient to permit the developments of epidemics "anywhere where there are Allied troops."

The menace of the atomic bomb will not be defeated by any paper schemes of international control, vital though that is. If nations continue to think in terms of national self-

interest, then with relentless logic the final war will end us before—and that's the pity—mankind has even begun to realise a tithe of its potential greatness.

Nor can there be any hope from the bogus internationalism which is based on "enlightened self-interest." To help others merely because that's the best way of helping ourselves is to leave the basic passion of self-interest unimpaired; and when the conflict comes, as come it must, between self-interest and the common good, it will be self-interest that will win.

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Only one thing can save us, and that is an act of genuine repentance; a determination here and now to turn our backs on the whole evil tradition of self-interest and self-righteousness in international affairs—a determination, for instance, to feed Europe this winter not because if we don't we ourselves may suffer, but simply because it is right to feed our starving neighbours.

It is only by striking out on this new path today that we can escape utter destruction: for the evil has already gone deep, and if it is allowed to go deeper, recovery will be impossible.

Knowing very well that our own actions are limited by those of others, I yet suggest that our new Government may prove itself the greatest that the world has ever known if, in this awful crisis of the human fate, it will dare to rise to the full height of the argument: if, first, it will act always for the general international good, and if, secondly—for this is no less important—it will begin the moral re-education of ourselves and others by avowedly basing its actions, not on enlightened self-interest, but on loving our neighbours as ourselves.

FIRST PACIFIST SPEECH IN NEW PARLIAMENT

"We have come here to make an end of war"

JAMES H. HUDSON, Labour MP for West Ealing and well known as a Quaker and a pacifist, discussed the atomic bomb and conscription during a speech (on Aug. 20) in the Commons Debate on the Address. It was the first speech by a pacifist in the new Parliament.

He said many people seemed to be trying to belittle the importance of the bomb. "They hope that this horror will grow mild, and its darkness become light." He was glad that the two principal party-leaders had not taken this attitude.

He agreed with Mr. Attlee that we must revalue our international relations, but he did not share Mr. Churchill's view that the new secret could be safely retained in America. "It is inevitable," said Mr. Hudson, "that within a comparatively short period of time this secret will become common property."

An entirely new conception of law and of international sovereignty was being forced upon the world's attention.

TERMS FOR JAPAN

The bomb had exploded Mr. Churchill's own policy of unconditional surrender. "He and the President, as he himself admits, were so conscience-stricken about the annihilatory force that they were unleashing on the world, that, at the last minute, he says, they offered terms to the Japanese."

"The Foreign Secretary will have much trouble in dealing with those terms before he is finished with them. But at any rate, better trouble for a

'Renounce war'

WOMEN'S APPEAL TO ATTLEE

A LETTER sent to the Prime Minister last week by the Women's International League said:

"Now that the horror of the destruction to open cities and their populations has led to the surrender of Japan, we would urge that the immediate opportunity be taken to secure from all countries a speedy renunciation of the machinery of war, and to achieve at once and for all that 'abandonment of the use of force' in international relations laid down in the Atlantic Charter."

"This will involve revision of the security provisions of the San Francisco Charter, the curtailment of national sovereignties and the organisation of the world as one whole."

The letter went on to urge that as the atomic bomb had "rendered obsolete the weapons, conscript armies and strategic bases to which men cling," they should be "abandoned now in the interests of peace, instead of being allowed to remain to clog the wheels of progress and to obstruct the path of peace."

"Will not His Majesty's Government," it concluded, "make a dramatic appeal to the leaders of every country, to turn wholly from the preparation of men and machines for catastrophic destruction, and to seek security in world-wide co-operation for the satisfaction of human need? We believe that such a step taken at this moment would awake a response from men and women everywhere which would carry the world forward into a new and happier era."

SPORTING OF THEM

The American National Baseball Congress, at a meeting of Directors at Wichita, Kansas, approved the inclusion of Japan among the 19 nations to be invited to a "global" tournament next year, reported Reuter from New York on Aug. 21.

P.P.U. and the atomic bomb

—see plan for a "Peoples' Peace Crusade," page 4.

Foreign Secretary than slaughter for millions."

Turning to conscription, Mr. Hudson said that Lord Vansittart had recently admitted in the Daily Mail that when he was chief diplomatic agent to the Foreign Office he privately prompted leading French statesmen to threaten the British Government with a further dwindling of the Entente unless they imposed conscription.

"I should say to the Foreign Secretary—whose work I wish with all my heart to succeed—that he should be cautious and careful that no-one, either behind his back or behind the back of Parliament, makes it difficult for Parliament, in the days to come, to rid ourselves of the evil of conscription."

"It will be a poor contribution to the better international situation which we are all hoping to secure if we are to foredoom our young men and women to giving one, two or three of the best years of their lives to compulsory training in war-like pursuits. Conscription is sheer waste and futility, when a thousand or a hundred thousand souls can be blasted into eternity in one second by one bomb."

"Christ tells us to love our enemies; governments bid us kill. The effect of that on sensitive young men is, necessarily, to confuse and divide. The conscript, in effect, is required to endorse war in advance."

"We on these benches have come here to make an end of war, and I believe hon. Members opposite have come with a similar hope. If there be no other reason conscription ought, therefore, to be abandoned at the earliest moment."

PEACE NEWS

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All letters on other than editorial matters
should be addressed to the Manager

NO WAY OUT

THE difficult duty of today is to achieve and maintain awareness on many levels. The one-track mind is more than ever obsolete.

There is a sense in which "I renounce war" is the solution to all the problems of the world. There is another sense in which it is an evasion of all the problems of the world. Not merely because, if we wait till the chorus "I renounce war" rises from a million million throats, the throats will all have been cut; but also because if that were by miracle to happen tomorrow, the world would be in no less chaos than it is today. Such international order as exists in the world is based on the sanction of war.

The reality of war has passed into a new dimension. Take, for example, the abrupt ending of Lend-Lease. The USA simply stops giving to the world. What more natural? But it is almost a declaration of war upon the world, and an act of suicide as well. Unless the decision is practically rescinded, a few millions of Europeans will die this winter, and a few more million Americans will be plunged into poverty some few months after. Two paradoxes that the American mind has to swallow. Paradox one: America grew richer while fighting the war. Paradox two: America will be poorer now that it is over. The memory of war-prosperity will be so fresh in men's minds that the impulse will be to start a new one.

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That will be difficult: because it will be over almost before it is started. If USA were to declare war on all the world at 12 p.m. tonight, it would surrender by 1 a.m. One hundred and twenty-four aeroplanes carrying each an atom-bomb, computes Time, would have the destructive power of all the bombs and projectiles loosed by every belligerent in the course of this war. Just as the world was reeling from the effects of its abysmal failure to answer the challenge of Coal, Oil, and Electricity, it has been swept into the Atom-age. The bomb that closed World War II was the warning that it is no use preparing for World War III, which was the one remedy that all the statesmen—Capitalist, Democratic, Communist, Socialist—had for the world's disease. Universal military conscription for everybody all over the world is just plain idiocy. But it will take time to penetrate.

The whole world has passed into a new dimension of experience. One must repeat this (or some equivalent phrase) on getting up and on going to bed. Even then you won't be able to believe it: even then you won't be able to act on it. You will feel that you are a little mad. A total change of the human mentality is required. But in the process of its coming, we suspect, the world will go very mad indeed. Mad in a new dimension, now that the habitual outlet for its madness is stopped up. The explosion of the atomic bomb was tremendous; but not so tremendous as will be the explosion in the human consciousness of the fact that there is no way out in war. No way out.

No way out from the contradictions of Capitalism; no way out from the contradictions of Communism; no way out from the necessity of thinking and acting in a way human beings have no conception of thinking and acting.

Meanwhile, of course, there is plenty of time and plenty of cause for millions of human beings to die ugly, mean and pitiful deaths. In trying their utmost to prevent that (as it could be largely prevented even now) men would find a glimmer of light which, if they followed, would lead eventually to The Way Out. But let none of us imagine that he knows precisely what it is.

Peace News is open for the expression of all points of view relevant to pacifism. Articles in it, whether signed or unsigned, do not necessarily represent the policy of the Peace Pledge Union, of which it is the weekly organ. Nor does the acceptance of advertisements imply any endorsement of, or PPU connexion with, the matter advertised.

Questions people ask me

BEFORE taking a holiday and so concluding another year of speaking at the same weekly open air-meeting, I find myself reflecting on the year's meetings just ended.

The patience and deep interest of the crowd stand out clearly. Still more do the questions. Some have tended to be similar each week.

"Where would you pacifists be now if we had all been COs at Dunkirk?"

"Why do you say that Christians should not take part in war when Christ drove the money-changers out of the temple?"

"Why bother with all this talk about pacifism when Russia has shown us the way to get peace?" Many questions have been like these.

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OTHERS have revealed a fresh approach to the subject, have not been so easily answered, and have constituted a challenge to the speaker's honesty. Of these, three are outstanding.

1. "You say that, if one persists in returning good for evil and suffers as a consequence, such suffering is creative and will eventually meet with a response on the part of the evil-doer. The suffering of the Jews these last few years had had no such effect on the Nazis. Does that not disprove your theory?"

2. "I was a pacifist before the war, but I have a child, and I realized that, if we did not fight, the Nazis would have brought up my child in falsehood and immorality. I believe that life after death is conditioned by the life we live here and now. This seemed to me to mean that my child's eternal destiny was endangered if she came under Nazi influence. On realizing that, I could no longer remain a pacifist."

3. "You say that on no grounds can the dropping of the atomic bomb be justified. Would you consider it justified if it resulted in many people being converted to pacifism?"

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TO the last question I replied that it depended on what one meant by pacifism. If the word stands for a hatred of war, then I thought that the bomb had already resulted in increasing such hatred. But hatred of war would not by itself bring peace.

If the word stands for the positive qualities of trust, reconciliation, and the desire to create right relationships between people based on justice—if the dropping of the bomb really resulted in the increase of such spiritual qualities as these then I would agree that it might prove to have been justified.

But because of the fear and hatred already created by the bomb I could not, at present anyway, imagine that the real pacifist spirit would ever be extended because of it.

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TO the second question I remember replying that, although I believed that the quality of life we live on earth probably determines the quality of the life that at the outset we live

This year's
Dick Sheppard
anniversary gathering

will be held at Friends' House, Euston Rd., London, N.W.1., on Oct. 27, with the performance of a play to follow in the evening at the Cripplegate Theatre, Shore-ditch. At Friends' House the programme will be:

3-4.15: Music and readings.
4.15-5.30: Tea and opportunity for fellowship.
5.30-6.30: Meeting. Chairman: Donald Soper. Speakers: Alex Wood and Donald Port.

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The play, "Gates of Mercy," by Brian Anstey and Roy Walker, will be performed by the North London Players.

Watch PN for further details and BOOK THE DATE NOW!

PATRICK FIGGIS looks back on a year of open-air meetings

after our physical death, yet the laws governing man's spiritual growth are not, in this connection, the main thing to be considered.

Life is ordered by God. I believe in a Christ-like God. Can one credit that Christ would allow a person to suffer spiritual death and be forever deprived of life because as a child he or she had through no fault of his own come under evil influences? It is unthinkable. Rather must one say that, though a person's spiritual growth may for a terribly long time be retarded because of such an experience, yet because of God's love for that person he or she will ultimately be enabled to recover and to live as God intended.

I added that I knew that, because of such possible evil consequences to one's children, to be a pacifist today required much courage and faith. But what were the prospects for one's children if war continued? Could we be certain that our armed resistance to the Germans had brought nearer the day when war would end?

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THE third question I found hardest. As Victor Gollancz and others have said, the suffering of the Jews does seem to have been meaningless. Nor dare one suggest (though I imagine that in certain instances there might be some truth in the suggestion) that the Jews have not always reacted to the Nazi persecution in the spirit of forgiveness that is necessary if such suffering is to be creative.

My reply was brief. It is too soon yet for anyone to say whether the suffering that the Jews have endured at the hands of the Nazis has been creative or not. It is doubtful if on every occasion it will have been.

But who can tell but that in five, ten or twenty years, through those who witnessed or will later hear about the occasions when men faced torture and death without fear or resentment, showing instead trust and magnanimity, other men will come to decide that they too will in future seek to overcome evil by relying on the same spirit? Is not the trouble that we are too impatient for results?

"I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me." These words, testifying to the influence of the Cross in the lives of men, are found only in St. John's Gospel, which probably was not compiled until nearly 100 A.D., i.e. 67 years after Jesus was crucified. The effect in the lives of men of His suffering, outside a limited circle, was not at once apparent. Should we expect it to be so with ours?

London meeting tonight on atomic force

Dr. Sidney M. Berry, General Secretary of the Congregational Union and an ex-Moderator of the Free Church Federal Council, and Mrs. Lucy Middleton, MP, have been added to the list of speakers at the demonstration on the theme of "Atomic Force!—World Unity or World Destruction?" which is to be held at the Central Hall, Westminster, tonight (Friday) at 7 o'clock.

Others taking part will include Sir John Boyd Orr, FRS, MP, Dame Sybil Thorndike, Dr. C. E. M. Joad, and the Rev. Henry Carter, with Prof. Norman Bentwich in the chair.

Some reserved seats (1s.) may still be available at the Central Hall or from the National Peace Council, 144 Southampton Row, London, W.C.1., when this notice appears, but there are nearly two thousand free seats in the hall. Doors will open at 6.15 p.m.

G. B. Shaw on C.O.s

Bernard Shaw's views on conscientious objection, as expressed in his "Everybody's Political What's What," have been reprinted by the Central Board for COs (6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.) as a 3d. pamphlet (postage 1d. extra).

Shaw writes: "A majority of objectors is not necessary: an organised minority could stop war as it stopped Prohibition in the United States."

PATHWAY OF PROGRESS

by JOHN BARCLAY

AS I understand it the word "Revolutionary" means "one who is prepared to change habits." The old order changes slowly since, although most people want a new world, they are not willing to make the sacrifices required or produce the energy needed to accomplish the task.

This seems to most zealous reformers and propagandists the bottle-neck to progress, and they are ceaseless in their efforts to get the lazy herd on its feet—to be "up and doing," or else by painting lurid pictures of further hells to come urge them on to impossibly rich Utopias of garish technicolour: neither hell nor heaven produce the effort necessary. The bottle-neck is further back and is caused by the failure to carry into adult life the imagination which is the birthright of every child.

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IMAGINATIVE awareness—creative imagination—is the source of driving power as well as of vision. Without knowledge applied with understanding and understanding applied to the kind of effort needed, all stimulants fail to produce the required end—happiness, peace and brotherhood.

A broad word to cover the need is Education, but education of a particular kind is needed to meet the terrible lack of imaginative understanding in those who desire the very end which such a lack denies them. The problem has become, I believe, one of translation or interpretation: to interpret the Prophet to the people—the visionary to the blind.

So many progressives believe in superficial and expedient progress; political somersaults are often applauded as revolutions—but habits remain and can only be broken and thrown away by the complete Rebel. The ability to change habits is the true test of a revolutionary in the same way that the power of making friendships is the test of a democrat.

Both require faith in the human person—and a willingness to sacrifice for a future as yet unseen. Only through imagination can that future be discerned and at the moment the Atomic bomb appears likely to blow away all but spiritual foundations.

The pacifist is by nature a rebel, but it remains to be seen to what heights his imagination can rise in meeting the greatest challenge we have yet had to human progress. Dare we listen to our prophets before it is too late?

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BERNARD SHAW on CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION

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ADAM AND THE ATOM

By ROY WALKER

THE impact of the atom bomb on Peace News was commensurate with the sweep and depth of John Middleton Murry's imagination. The paper blazons forth the news. We are all blasted into a new dimension. The Age of Adam is over. Annihilation or the Age of the Atom is the choice.

If it is the Anglo-American Atom, that is the same as Annihilation. But if only it can be the Russo-Anglo-American Atom, world-rule by the Big Three, then Trust may emerge. To some of us that sounds more like the Council of the Infernal Peers than any reconedition Security Council; and the trouble is that the Devil's Advocate is, as usual, constantly threatening to become the real hero of the piece.

The detonation of Middleton Murry's vision has blown pacifism into the very gutters and margins of the paper. Grim advice to think again in the appeal corner. PPU Executive's statement perched on the back page. The rest of us find ourselves once more in the familiar position of the resistance movement, Opposition to John Middleton Murry.

The first purpose of this article is to plead that we should forget about resistance and think about non-violence. Given the fact that the Editor of Peace News is also the most distinguished thinker at present in the Peace Pledge Union the position is inevitable, and is only aggravated by opposition in the shape of indignant contradiction.

UNREPRESENTATIVE

My belief is that Murry's reaction to the atom bomb is quite unrepresentative of the PPU generally (it might, conceivably, be none the worse for that). I also think that, pacifism apart, his conclusion are mistaken inasmuch as they imagine a stable world-government resting on the magical power of Uranium 235 to engender mutual trust between the statesmen of Russia, Britain and America.

The first point is surely too obvious to need extended argument. World-dictatorship by three Powers based on new and overwhelming destructive force may be the apotheosis of Nazism, or even of the more modest doctrines of Collective Security; but it is not pacifism, not at any rate pacifism as the Peace Pledge Union has understood it. (And, of course, Murry does not put it forward as such.)

To say that control of atomic force and renunciation of its destructive powers are identical is simply not true. That a threat of destruction may be so overwhelming as to produce temporary submission pacifists have never denied. But to concentrate that power in the hands of statesmen is not therefore a pacifist policy.

If it is argued that the policy is nevertheless the only alternative to chaos now conceivable, that it may provide a shield behind which the moral law, the renunciation of violence, can survive and flourish as the Christian Church flourished under the Pax Romana, the pacifist must surely answer that such compromise between a non-violent "church" and a violent "State" completely discredits the former.

PACIFISTS' FUNCTION

It does so in ways not altogether obvious. It justifies to the conscience of statesmen and citizens the conception of an ultimate pacifism compatible with the interim ethics of imperialism, and the toleration of pacifists as merely a vocational minority. As the Christian Church has found, that indefinite postponement of moral revolution murders the very powers of growth in the church itself, reduces it ultimately to the position of apologist for "secular" excesses.

In my view, the sole justification for the existence of a British pacifist movement outside organized religion is that when faced with the choice it unhesitatingly rejects compromise with the State based on violence, and

presents its inflexible and—if you like—irrelevant demand that the State shall forthwith undergo the moral revolution.

MONOPOLY POLITICS

At the political level Murry's hope that Russo-Anglo-American control might revolutionize the statemanship of its present leaders amazes me. This affirmation by Britain and America that they "trust" Soviet Russia, and distrust the other (is it?) forty-one United Nations, along with neutrals and ex-enemies, is obviously not a moral revolution, but a step from monopoly capitalism to monopoly politics, a merger for purposes inimical to the smaller fry.

It is not the first time Murry has made an error of this order. He envisaged the Nazi revolution as an enforced unification of Europe. Because he so truly saw the need for unification he allowed himself to believe that Nazism might achieve it, notwithstanding the nature of Nazism. We now know that Nazism shattered the hope of European unity. Similarly we shall see world unity shattered if there is Anglo-American or Russo-Anglo-American unification on a basis of their sole possession of the overwhelming destructive force of the atom bomb.

BACK AT THE PLEDGE

Are pacifists then back at the Peace Pledge, where they started? Emphatically they are. But they must surely see that a defensive pacifism is now not enough, only an assertive pacifism can rise to the occasion.

By an assertive pacifism I mean a pacifism carried into the political field with the avowed intention of depriving all national governments of the mandate, the power and the means to threaten, prepare or wage war. That would be the achievement of internationalism from below, and such I believe to be the only form of internationalism that can save civilization. Internationalism through the concentration of power in the hands of a few statesmen, whether they be called national statesmen or world statesmen, would mean the constant threat and the ultimate certainty of dispute and catastrophe.

Only the certainty that any statesman would be swept ignominiously out of public life on mere suspicion of threatening the use of war can provide security in a world where atomic energy is in the hands of men. Even so, there is always the criminal lunatic; and against him we have no certain defence unless we hold a mystical faith that in a world of spiritually healthy persons, symptoms of criminal lunacy will disappear.

If Murry's is a fantasy of power politics, is my vision any less fantastic? Can any reader of these words conceive the world's peoples behaving as I would have them behave? It is the old charge against the Utopian, and there is only an old answer: unless we can imagine such a world we shall never achieve it, if we can imagine it we can support no present policy that denies it, if we cannot imagine it we have passed judgment on our civilization and may be sure that its final destruction is not far distant. The condition of the continued existence of pacifism is that it shall have faith in the "impossible." It is then at least clear that reality must kill pacifism or pacifism must demolish the contemporary reality.

It did not bring real peace or victory

The Very Rev. C. C. Thicknesse, Dean of St. Albans, who refused to hold a VJ-Day thanksgiving service in his cathedral as a protest against the atomic bombing of Japan, wrote on "Why I condemn the atomic bomb" in the Daily Mail, Aug. 22. He declared:

EVEN if you assent—as I do not—to the idea that retaliation in kind is legitimate, it could not be said that we were obliged to use this weapon (as we have been reluctantly compelled to use others) in self-defence. . . .

WE make no apology for devoting this page to the subject of the atomic bomb. Its arrival is an event of such significance in human history that it cannot be dismissed as a seven-days' wonder. On this page ROY WALKER discusses the responsibility of the pacifist movement in the light of the new development, and LAURENCE HOUSMAN deals with the spiritual defeat which it has involved.

REJOICE!

IF I use the good old word "Devil" to represent the Power of Evil in its manifestation up to date, I hope none of my readers will think that I have dropped back into mediæval theology. The word "Evil," crowned with a capital "D," is a good combination for making the fact plain—and it saves space.

In the astounding success of the atomic bomb the Devil has scored a spectacular triumph; it is a great feather in his cap. The instantaneous destruction of two large cities, with their populations amounting to many scores of thousands of men, women, and children, has shortened the war for us, and saved the lives of perhaps nearly as many of our soldiers (whose duty it is to face death in war) as it has destroyed women and children (whose duty it is not).

Setting those saved lives against those lost ones, we are asked to rejoice that our salvation has thus been achieved; and the inhuman monstrosity of the means must be reasonably accepted as having become a "military necessity," though it violates all the old rules of war to which we were giving lip-service when the war started. And so the Devil scores, and wherever two or three million multiplied by ten are gathered together for jubilation, there is He in the midst of them.

IT is, of course, abundantly natural for the nation to rejoice at the coming of Peace—and Victory; it is equally natural that there has been no popular revulsion against the means by which Peace has been won, because six years of war have poisoned the moral consciousness of the vast majority of those who, accepting war, accept also its logical consequences: quite definitely totalitarian warfare has ruled out all moral considerations and all spiritual values that stand in the way of material results.

Step by step the process of "Military necessity" has become more and more horrible and unbalanced in its operation. Years before the war started, Lord Baldwin said truly that in air-warfare the bomber would always get through, and that the only defence was in counter-attack, which meant, he said, that you must destroy more quickly, and in larger numbers of the enemy, whole populations, men, women and children. It was a true

August 31, 1945, PEACE NEWS—3

"IMPOSSIBLE TO DEFEND" - Bishop

CONDEMNING the use of the atom bomb, the Bishop of Chelmsford (Dr. Henry Wilson) wrote in the Chelmsford Diocesan Chronicle on Aug. 21: "It is quite impossible with any consistency to defend this kind of warfare."

When the flying bombs and rockets were falling on us we charged the Germans with the indiscriminate slaughter of non-combatants. That is precisely what the Allied nations have done to a degree a hundred times greater than did the Nazis.

There are those who say that the existence of this new horror will bring war to an end. But scientific authorities have already told the world that the bomb is so easily made that it can be at the service of any group of fiends who desire to make war on humanity.

The atom bomb will be no deterrent to war.

It seems that human progress today is rather like that of the Gadarene swine. Undoubtedly they were progressing somewhere pretty rapidly, but it was to an abyss.

by Laurence HOUSMAN

prophecy, but it did not make him become a pacifist.

During the middle period of the war there was a certain proportion in this process of attack and counter-attack: it was, roughly speaking, measure for measure; and for a time military objectives were the excuse for the horrible imprecision with which those objectives were missed and non-military objectives destroyed—till at last it became evident (though not said) that whole populations were the military objective which counted most, both in quantity and quality. That was the logical outcome of totalitarian war: the most needed material results required wholesale massacre; and it is wholesale massacre which has at last, and quite suddenly, secured the victory over which the Allied Nations are now rejoicing.

MR. CHURCHILL'S defence of our use of the atomic bomb is characteristically blatant: because the Germans would have used it on us, had they discovered it, we are justified in using it on another nation which had no earthly chance of using it.

But the atomic bomb only emphasised a process to which we were already committed. No sooner had the Allies secured such mastery of the air as to make further retaliation impossible, than their methods of destruction became more indiscriminate, more overwhelming, and more shameless—how indiscriminate we shall never be allowed to know.

It will never be revealed to us how many thousands of British and American prisoners of war were involved, by our insistence on "unconditional surrender," in the destruction of the cities and populations of the Reich in the last few months before Germany surrendered. That—were it made known—would diminish popular satisfaction over an indiscriminacy which people would not otherwise condemn.

Friends and relatives will only be told that they died of imprisonment: and the very large mortality which will presently have to be disclosed will probably be attributed to the bad conditions of life which a brutal enemy imposed on them. But in Japan there were probably no British prisoners of war to share the fate of the two cities atomically treated, and reduce our satisfaction over the complete success of the experiment.

And when we go to start "re-educating" these "aggressor nations," with no shame or repentance in our hearts for what we have done to secure from them unconditional surrender—what penitence are we likely to extract from them? Anyone with any sense must know that the far more likely product will be enduring hate and a longing for revenge. The Devil has won for us a marvellous short-range victory—on the material plane: on the spiritual plane we can now expect nothing but defeat.

A letter to President Truman from 34 American clergymen, describing the atom bomb as an atrocity and demanding its abolition, arrived at the White House on Aug. 20.

More about . . .

DEREK DROOP
(of the local group)



Derek's learned a thing or two
Since he's read, as you should too,
All the things he ought to do
In "Working for the P.P.U."



In this pamphlet, if you read
Inwardly digest and heed,
Is good advice which you will need
For making peace by word and deed.



The purpose of the P.P.U.

This pledge signed by each member is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union: "I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another."

The Union stands for the rejection of war, for the method of seeking to overcome evil by good, and for the constant endeavour to create right relationships among men and nations.

If, after reading Peace News, you would like to know more about the PPU, write for information to: The General Secretary, PPU, Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

If you decide that you cannot support any future war, it will encourage others and may be helpful to yourself if you join the Union.

The lesson of the Election

DONALD PORT on pacifists and the Managerial Revolution

everyone whose heart has been lifted by the Left-wing victory to read James Burnham's "The Managerial Revolution." Recently, a new edition has appeared (and almost disappeared) in the Penguin series.

The new rulers

SUCCESSFUL organization of modern society for total war, says Burnham, is seen in its proper perspective only by recognizing it as a symptom and not as a cause of world-revolution.

The drive to the managerial society has been accentuated by war (as are all rising social movements) but it is, in the last analysis, independent of the temporary dictatorship crisis. It outmodes the dreams of the socialists; it is superseding the discredited ideologies and institutions of capitalism; and it foreshadows—in Russia, Germany and Italy it has already foreshadowed—a new class-stratification of society in which the managers will occupy top place. Two things, says Burnham, determine which shall be the ruling class: access to raw materials and preferential treatment in the distribution of commodities. The managers are

moving rapidly into the necessary positions of control.

Pacifists who have attempted to take the Russian experiment seriously, have understood the character of the "war-time" production and supply boards in this country; those who have read Professor Brady's analysis in "Business as a System of Power" will know the tremendous dangers likely to arise from managerial control.

They will also know that managerial society is capable of a highly efficient distribution of commodities on a more equitable basis than capitalism can now achieve. It is primarily for that efficiency, and not for the ethical principles of socialism, that the British people voted.

Accept the benefits

YET pacifists will be seriously undermining their own case if they fail to realize that the economic security which was provided by war must have an equal priority in the peace. That is why they must turn away from the Liberal and Conservative parties unless or until they formulate their criticisms of Labour's programme in more constructive terms.

The maintenance of free enterprise could only be secured by a return to the economic insecurity of the inter-war years. Pacifists will do well, therefore, to accept the benefits of managerial efficiency, rejoice in the wider distribution of wealth, and work for the recovery of the ethical principles which lie at the back of many of the impulses of the British Labour Party.

WORDS OF PEACE

No. 140

Much of the material world has been wrecked and ruined in our generation, and frightful deeds on a scale never before paralleled have borne witness to the truth of Robert Burns's vivid phrase—"Man's inhumanity to Man." The vast waste of matter and the deep shame of spirit have become symptoms of human society's maladjustment to eternal laws; but it is most important to remember the implication of that word "inhumanity" and to avoid the sedulously repeated error that all the evils of the world are simply an expression of human nature. This is a morally defeatist attitude which we ought to combat in the causes of true reconstruction. To say that it is "human nature" to engage in wars today is a patent lie. All but those with exceptionally perverted minds want peace and stability in human affairs.

Think how the real human values persist even through an epoch of holocaust and degradation. Think how the ideas of love, truth, mystery, solitude, adoration, or aspects of non-human nature such as a garden, a mountain, or the sea, transcend the boundaries of national cultures and languages, though each may take on a distinctive local aura. Such ideas are not insubstantial or trivial things, but are reflections of realities which nourish human nature as truly as milk nourishes a baby.

—R. L. Mégroz, in Aryan Path, Bombay.

EDUCATION IN VALUES

Final article in the series by WILFRED WELLOCK

IN the life of nations, as in the lives of individual men and women, moral and spiritual values play a decisive part. The final test of a nation's stability, of its power to resist evil in whatever form and to rise to great heights of social and spiritual achievement, is the integrity of its citizens, their physical and spiritual health and wholeness, and, in the last analysis, the values which they esteem.

When human values fall, the quality of life falls, and States decay; and when, as today, the State supersedes the individual in importance, decadence has already set in. Sir Richard Livingstone in "Plato and Modern Education" writes:

"The State may cramp the human soul; material civilisation tends to suffocate it painlessly. The danger of such suffocation . . . increases as material civilisation develops and men concentrate on managing and improving the machine or are buried under its products. Two forces can counteract this danger—religion and education. Unfortunately, the more civilisation develops, the less education inclines to serve this purpose. It, too, is enslaved to the machine and absorbed in training people to work it, makes them still more machine-minded and fosters the very evil that it ought to prevent."

"It is characteristic of today that, when we discuss which subjects should be studied, or which languages should be learnt, the first consideration is nearly always utility; we ask what is most useful for the machine, not what is most likely to make a good human being. Neither Plato nor the Middle Ages would have made that mistake."

Aristotle said, "People should study for the sake of their own development and with a view to excellence."

The guide to good living, or good conduct, is a knowledge of values, of what yields abundant life or well-being, and what yields disappointment or ill-being. But, as we have seen, such knowledge is today difficult to acquire, despite the tremendous and rising output of the printing

machines and the multiplication and expansion of our educational institutions.

A new beginning must therefore be made, a new kind of adult educational institution founded, to be staffed by men and women of vision and understanding who keenly perceive whither civilisation is drifting and what is needed to change its direction.

The examples which come nearest to the institution we need, are, in my opinion, the Danish Folk High Schools and the People's Colleges of Sweden, both of which serve a fundamentally spiritual and inspirational purpose. The former were inaugurated about a century ago by Bishop Grundtvig, and the latter about twenty years later.

Bishop Grundtvig's purpose was to raise the spirit, broaden the outlook, and give a richer content to the life of the Danish people, who had come so much to fear a German invasion that they had developed a powerful inferiority complex. His idea was to provide a spiritually stimulating educational course, at small cost, to as large a number of young men and women of 18 years and over as possible, all of whom must already have begun to earn their living.

The schools were to be pleasantly situated, mostly in the country, and the courses were to be residential, since community-living, fellowship and discussion were deemed to be an essential part of the training. If the courses were restricted to one term of from 10 to 20 weeks, a large number of young men and women could quickly be inspired with a new vision and equipped with a new personal and social outlook.

The main subjects taught were the mother tongue, folk lore, the heroic in history and literature, ethics, theology, music, community folk-singing, natural science. The emphasis was thus on spiritual values.

The discovery of these higher personal and national values soon led to a demand for opportunities to realise them in the work-a-day world. One outcome was the founding of several agricultural colleges, from which has sprung a system of co-operative farming, dairying, butter and cheese-making, pig rearing, ham and bacon curing, poultry keeping, and marketing which in a few decades has transformed poor, despairing Denmark into a prosperous country and one of the most sound and virile democracies in Europe.

The People's Colleges of Sweden have proceeded on the same general lines, but with slight variations. They have produced nothing so distinctive as the Danish Agricultural Co-operative Movement, but they are imparting to scores of thousands of young men and women a knowledge of values which is raising the spiritual quality of their lives, and also that of their country.

Even in the midst of the recent war Denmark, with a population of 3½ millions, had 57 Folk High Schools and about 6,000 students, while Sweden, with a population of 6½ millions, had 60 colleges and over 7,000 students. Both institutions enjoy complete freedom from outside control, although both now receive substantial Government and County Council grants, which, however, carry with them the right of inspection.

These examples, I believe, offer some guidance to us working out a system of adult education for application here. The special need of our time is an education in values in order that we may restore the creative values of labour, of family, social and religious life which the materialism of four centuries, including the Industrialism of modern times, has destroyed.

This is an issue on which pacifists in particular might well ponder. They may thus find ample scope for initiative and enterprise of high social value, and thereby prepare the way for the real revolution.

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Germany will be huge graveyard unless we send food quickly

A first-hand picture of the appalling food situation in Germany is given in a letter received on Monday from a member of a Friends' Ambulance Unit Relief Section in Berlin. The letter was written to his wife, who has sent Peace News the following extract:

THE great fact that is obvious to every reasonable-minded person is that the civilian population is hungry and starving. At the moment it is the Military Government's policy that the Germans must feed themselves and look after their own needs. But only a little thought on the problem makes more than clear the impossibility of the situation. They have practically no transport; this alone makes distribution impossible.

We must call upon our government to change its present policy and send food in at once. Otherwise Germany will become one huge graveyard, with all the terrible consequences, in the centre of Europe!

We are not allowed to give you figures of diet, deaths, etc., from the official reports we are allowed to read, but you must take it from me that conditions are more than terrible and I am depressed at the thought of what this coming winter will mean in terms of human misery and suffering.

One small fact will give you some idea of our problem. It is expected that none of the babies born in Berlin during the year 1945 will live, unless some miracle measure of feeding is brought in at once! It sounds impossible doesn't it—but remember this is the truth. Do let people know at home these things and thus help us out here, for we must have food if we are to do any good at all and we shall not get food until the official government policy is changed.

New London Area Organiser

Roger Page has been appointed PPU London Area Organiser. He was welcomed to the new job at an Area "Get-together"; a well-attended and enjoyable function.

Sybil Morrison chaired and introduced Roger Page, who spoke of the opportunity which the Area had to do a worthwhile job for the PPU and for pacifism. Frank Dawtry made a witty speech of welcome on behalf of the Development Committee.

The pamphlet "Working for the PPU"—referred to in the PPU Development Column on page 4—will be published within the next week or so, price 9d.

The scientists' responsibility

From Dr. Kathleen Lonsdale, FRS.

THE Stationery Office publication, "Statements relating to the Atomic Bomb" (4d.), makes it quite clear that the scientific committees which controlled the experiments on the atomic bomb deliberately chose not to pursue those investigations which would have led to the production of atomic energy under controllable conditions, for peace-time.

Although I have the warmest regard for many of the scientists who were involved in this choice, I am convinced that they made a criminal mistake. It is a mistake inherent in the whole war method; however, and not just in the particular weapon developed.

The claim that there can be no beneficial harnessing of atomic energy, and that therefore statements which refer to the peace-time development of this enormous reservoir of power are due to wishful thinking or intellectual dishonesty, is untrue. The experiments strongly indicate that the chain reaction involved can be slowed down to a controllable rate by the use of a suitable diluent, and further developments are to be expected in this direction.

I do not believe that there are any scientific discoveries which have only a bad use; they are all fruits of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil.

KATHLEEN LONSDALE.

121 Station Rd., West Drayton, Middx.

Pacifists' real job

From Maj.-Gen. J. F. C. Fuller, CB, CBE, DSO.

ISN'T it time for pacifists to become realists? I have before me a pamphlet called "Are Pacifists Mistaken?" On the opening page there are four paragraphs on the meaning of pacifism. Damn the meaning—give us the functions. Pacifists should be the surgeons and not the gas-bags of war.

Let pacifists consider the causes of war instead of forever harping on their effects. What are the causes? They are to be found in the body of peace. They are peace-diseases as surely as ordinary complaints are bodily diseases.

Therefore pacifists should diagnose the diseases of peace and then suggest cures and preventatives. To go on anathematizing war is pure witchcraft.

J. F. C. FULLER.

Chartlands, Limpsfield, Surrey.

Free the prisoners!

ALTHOUGH the war has ended, and the Fascist internees have

been released from their confinement, thousands of men and women are still in prison under war-time laws. These prisoners are not offenders against the common law, and the regulations under which they were incarcerated are admitted to be extraordinary measures necessitated only by the emergency of a major war.

They include political prisoners (whom the law chooses to class as felons), conscientious objectors, deserters, absentees and offenders under many bureaucratic regulations. The civil prisons are overcrowded with them, and many more are held under appalling conditions in military concentration-camps, often undergoing long sentences for trifling offences.

Whatever excuse may have been given during the past few years for such imprisonments is surely invalidated now that the war is ended and we are told that the nation will gradually return to peace-time conditions. The most important task of a return to peace, more urgent even than housing or food, would appear to be a rectification of those injustices which were committed during war-time when the fundamental rights of the citizen were suspended under the pretext of an emergency situation. It is to be hoped that the new Labour government will take early action to alter this situation.

The Freedom Defence Committee intends to begin an immediate campaign for an amnesty for all civilian and military offenders against war-time laws, and would welcome the support of all who are anxious for the liberation of the British prisoners of war in British prisons. A demand for such an amnesty will be presented to the Home Secretary, and signature forms are available from the offices of the Committee, 17 St. George Street, Hanover Square, London, W.1.

The Freedom Defence Committee was originated in February of this year, under the name of the Freedom Press Defence Committee, to assist the four anarchists who were being tried under Regulation 39A. At that time it became evident that there was a need for a permanent vigilance body to fight for the preservation of elementary civil liberties, and the Freedom Defence Committee, consisting of individuals of many different shades of liberal, socialist and libertarian opinion, was formed for that purpose.

HERBERT READ.

Chairman, Freedom Defence Committee.

Crisis of our age

MAY I recall here some of the larger implications of this atomic bomb crisis, which will, I imagine, be accepted by most of your readers who give their minds to the subject? The plain truth is that, when once human society had fairly started upon its career of industrializing its life by using the results of scientific research, its eventual self-destructive disintegration became all but inevitable, unless it also took steps, and speedy, determined steps, to abolish organised methods, not only of all anti-social war and violence, but of all "defensive" war as well. And without a quite unprecedented rise in spiritual vision and the sense of human brotherhood such abolition was and is impossible. To this great truth of our machine-age almost all of us, yes, almost all of our leaders in thought and religion, have been blind.

We can see now that there has been a logical and inescapable sequence from more and more mechanized industry to more and more mechanized warfare, from wars decided by pitched battles to wars in which ever-increasing importance has been centred on the

LETTERS

destruction of factories and the massacre of men and women war-workers (especially by the use of the aeroplane), from that to the systematic "obliteration" of whole industrial districts and cities (the art in which our RAF has excelled), and thence to this all but final "annihilation of desolation." (Matthew, xxiv, 15), the atomic bomb. And it is only, natural if in most cases (but not in all) the most materialistic and ruthless of our still half-barbarous national societies have led the way to the abyss.

When the last great age of European civilization was entering upon its decline, the poet Virgil sang the praises of the simple, religious life of the Italian peasant and craftsman in contrast to the unwholesome life of the cities of his day and the pride of imperialist ambition. And he appears to have perceived something of the laws which govern the rise and decay of human societies a few years before Jesus of Nazareth began to teach mankind the way of life. "Facilis descensus Averno;" he wrote, "sed revocare gradum, superasque evadere ad auras, hic labor, hoc opus est"—easy is the descent to hell, but to retrace our steps and once more to escape to the free air of liberty, that indeed demands faith and works that only the high gods can enable us to achieve.

Perhaps it is still not too late, even at this eleventh hour of our machine-age? Some of us remember the last recorded words of that same Nazarene: "Lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the age (aeon)"; take hope because, however imperfectly they understand him, millions of men and women still claim Him as their Saviour and Lord.

STEPHEN HOBHOUSE.

"Upward trend"

I, for one, should be interested in the Mottram's revolutionary idea which might make Peace News "spiritual dynamite," although I am a bit dubious about the phrase which savours of some commercialised religious sect. The improvement in the paper, of which they seem to be aware, is also evident to me, according to my scale of values.

The continuance of this upward trend, I suggest in all humility, will depend on the ability of the editorial staff to publish articles which embody radical re-statements of pacifist affirmations, in all their infinite diversity, as they are applied to specific human problems. As I see it, the contributors will need to be amongst those who (particularly of their own volition), have had their pacifist faith most severely tested during the war period, and have emerged from the experience more chastened persons, but with a surer and more finely tempered conviction.

To this end I suggest that portrayals of deeply significant experience should take priority over essays in deductive analysis, particularly when the latter is applied to world political events. I do not suggest that logic is not of value in its place, but would stress that the over-riding principle should be "sincerity of assertion" rather than the "academic perfectionism" on which many professional writers set such store.

S. J. HAYWARD.

Leighterton, Tetbury, Glos.

BROADMINDED

"... at Holy Trinity . . . the priest-in-charge, the Rev. Drake-Brockman, offered special prayers even for Mr. Churchill."—*Hinckley Times and Guardian report of thanksgiving service.*

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WAR RESISTERS' International would welcome gifts of foreign stamps for subsequent sale on behalf of W.R.I. funds. Any such gifts received with gratitude. Please send to the War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Rd., Enfield.

WANTED to buy copy "New Vision" Spring 1942. Urgent, grate-ful. Blakeston, "Beech House," Ashburton, Devon.

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ORIENTAL VIEWS on the current affairs of the world in the Oriental Post, 27a, Sale Place, London, W.2. Price 6d. (by post 7d.). Sales agents wtd. everywhere.

"THERE IS NO peace, saith my God, to the wicked." Only by overcoming individual sin can war be abolished. "The Way of Life" free on appln. to Christadelphians, 67a, Coldharbour Lane, Hayes, Middx., expounds God's plan to bring everlasting peace.

DUKE OF BEDFORD: "Money and War"; Vera Brittain: "Drift to Death"; Ruth Fry Banned; Ronald Mallone: "Parliament's Problems"; Poetry; Ifold Rendall: "Open Letter to Peter Howard." (Illustrated "Christian Party News-Letter," 5d. (six issues 2s. 6d.). 30, Darby Rd., Oldbury, Birmingham.

MEETINGS, &c.

LONDON FORUM Public Lectures. Winter Season commences Sept. 3. Fredrick Lohr: "The Grand Inquisitor." Alliance Hall, Palmer St., Westminster, 7.30 p.m.

ROMFORD P.P.U. Tues., Sept. 4, 8.0 p.m., Stormont Murray on Eric Gill. Sat., Sept. 8, 6.0 p.m., Percy Reynolds gives Record Recital.

PERSONAL

YOU WILL FIND true friendship in the L. and H.C. Correspondence Club. Send s.a.e. for particulars to Secretary, L. and H.C.C., 39 Reighton Rd., London, E.5.

HEALTH ADVICE. Are you worried about your health? Then why not consult a health specialist? Write first, giving particulars of your ailment, duration, any previous treatment, age, etc., to: Health Specialist, c/o Appointments Secretary, A. Willson, 84, Rosebery Gdns., N.4. Moderate fees. Appointments only.

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STUDENT OF GERMAN (23) would like conversation in German with another young person, preferably female in the London area. Box 118.

CHANGE OF ADDRESS: Alban, Muriel and Elsa Little have moved to "Tudor Cottage," Middle St., Lower Nazering, Essex. Formerly of London E.11, and Nursery Rd., Nazering.

ROY AND JANET Walker are happy to announce the birth of a daughter on Aug. 20.

VOLUNTEER urgently wtd. to collect and set up stand for speakers in Hyde Pk., Thurs. evng., 7 o'clock. Public Action Ctee., P.P.U. Headquarters.

SITUATIONS VACANT

We cannot confirm satisfactory conditions of employment in all posts advertised. Applicants in doubt are recommended to consult the Central Board for C.O.s, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1, which will often be able to give useful advice.

TAILORING. Male and female assistants, or complete garment makers, for Bournemouth. State speciality in the trade and approx. salary, whether married or single. Accomdn. might be arranged. Box 119.

LEADER WANTED for Mixed Club in East London. Write for particulars to The Warden, Friends' Hall, Greenleaf Rd., E.17.

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Death of "the most determined Londoner"

DR. ALFRED SALTER, for long a sponsor of the Peace Pledge Union, and for a while its joint Treasurer, died on Friday last at the age of 72. With a brief interval he was Labour MP for Bermondsey from 1922 until he retired at the last election. He was deeply beloved in his constituency; probably, after George Lansbury himself, the most entirely popular Labour MP in all London. For the devoted social work of himself and his wife won for them both universal respect and affection. The death of his wife was a blow from which he seemed hardly to recover.

His integrity and his moral courage were absolute. (George Lansbury once called him "the most determined Londoner.") Thus it was that what he knew would be his last speech in the House of Commons, spoken with difficulty in December, 1941, when the nation was grimly set to carry on the war, was received with respectful attention by a House almost entirely opposed to his attitude.

After a distinguished medical career at Guy's and London University (where he was Gold Medal MD in 1896), he joined the Society of Friends, gave up the prospects of advancement that lay before him, and settled as a poor man's doctor in riverside Bermondsey. He quickly became the trusted friend and guide of his patients and neighbours; Borough Councillor and Guardian. In 1905 he was elected to the LCC.

In a resolution adopted at its meeting on Tuesday, the executive committee of the PPU expressed its great appreciation of his work for the movement as a Sponsor and in Parliament, and during the time he was one of its Treasurers and a member of its National Council.



DR. ALFRED SALTER

TEACHERS' PROBLEMS

Over fifty people attended a conference for teachers on "Freedom and Discipline in Education" held under the auspices of the Youth Committee of the Peace Pledge Union at Friends' House on Saturday.

Dr. Alex Wood presided and the speaker at the morning session was Mr. W. B. Curry, Headmaster of Dartington Hall School. The discussion at the afternoon session was opened by Margaret Green of Putney High School, and Donald Smeltzer, of Lisburn School. The problems involved in applying progressive methods in State-schools formed the chief topic of the conference.

The conference was held as the result of a questionnaire sent out to teachers and club-leaders which revealed that the problem of freedom and discipline was a pressing one for many of them. It is hoped to arrange a conference of club-leaders during the winter on "Responsible Citizenship"—another issue which occupied a prominent place in the questionnaire replies.

'OBSERVER' CONTINUED

if she does not carry through a parallel policy in India.

But there are enormous differences. America and Russia have only to leave China to herself; Britain has to abandon India. The Indians have not fought an eight years' war, single-handed, against an invader. In India there is a false facade of Western democracy which, we suspect, is maintained by the existence of the British power.

The only thing to be done, it seems, is to "quit India," and leave it to the anarchy which Mr. Gandhi used to anticipate and welcome. But do the Congress Party and the Muslims really want that?

Out-of-date empires

ONE of the major troubles is that the evolution of the world has passed clean outside the curious British pattern of the 19th century. Then Britain combined democracy at home with Imperialism abroad. It was a singular combination: better than its Athenian prototype in that it allowed the English colonial settlements to develop complete independence—that is the British Commonwealth, which deserves many of the good things that are said about it. But with regard "to the lesser breeds without the Law"—some 500 million of them in India and Africa—it was naked Imperialism.

A nation of the Far East, Japan, tried to follow our example. It has crashed: but to take its place have arisen a new China, and a new Russia. If the new Russia has made up its mind to treat the new China as an equal, the British Empire in the Far East becomes an uncomfortable anachronism. (So incidentally do the minor but important Eastern empires of Holland and France.) And the powerful influence of the USA will certainly not be used to defend the British Empire.

New policy needed

THIS massive problem of policy is a strange one for a British Labour movement to be called to cope with, for though it has often repudiated British Imperialism, it has been content to profit by the results. Moreover, on the fundamental question of the colour bar, British Labour, like South African Labour and Australian Labour, has been Blimpish.

But now the new Russia has arisen which, whether Socialist or not, completely ignores the colour bar, and is as genuinely super-racial as was the Roman Empire. Its power of attraction throughout the Far East is therefore very great. Once it has decided to treat China as an equal, in the political sense, there is no psychological barrier to real amity between the Russian and the Chinese peoples. USA undoubtedly means well by

How Britain could lead

China, but in its attitude is always something of the condescension which has so bedevilled British relations with the Indians.

Mr. Bevin has been at pains to stress the continuity of British foreign policy; and that is both natural to his temperament and in accord with the past practice of British Labour. But the time has come for a drastic break in the continuity. New forces have emerged: new powers are in being. Probably even the "British life-line" to the Far East is a line of life no more.

Missed the bus

EVEN where we are most deeply in sympathy with Mr. Bevin's attitude, as in his refusal to "recognize" the Bulgarian Government which emerges from the present elections, and his scathing criticism of the use of the word "Fascist" to discredit and destroy political opponents, we have the glum feeling that Britain has missed the bus. The time for establishing democracy in Europe was 25 years ago, and the place, Germany. The last remnants of British influence for democracy in Europe were thrown away by Mr. Chamberlain at Munich.

All the dismal liaisons of the British upper classes with the reactionary great landlords of Hungary, Rumania and Poland have now to be paid for in blood. The revolutionary Left of Europe has ceased to believe in democracy in the British sense. And who can blame it? Mr. Bevin's unnecessary reprieve to Franco tended to confirm its suspicions.

Chance for leadership

BUT what can Bevin, or Britain, do? It seems to me that if Britain attempts piecemeal solutions of her tremendous problems of foreign policy, she is doomed to futility. Her one chance, and her obvious duty, is to make a bid for the moral leadership of what remains of Democracy, in the faith that it is not really a losing creed. It is not.

The democratic idea is necessary to the peace of the world—simply because there can be no world-society of nations which is not, in fact, a democracy of nations. Either a world-society, or a world-empire. Let Britain identify herself, fearlessly, with the idea of the necessity of a world-society of nations, obedient to a common Law. Let her seize the opportunity of the invention of the atomic bomb (which has, incidentally, made her the most entirely vulnerable nation in the whole world) to proclaim the necessity of a world-society of nations in which the Great Powers have no more authority than that which is entrusted to them by the member-nations, and let her proclaim her own readiness to enter such a society. Russia may refuse, USA may

"Peoples' Peace Crusade": a new P.P.U. plan

A PROPOSAL to launch a People's Peace Crusade, with the object of uniting members of the Peace Pledge Union in a new testimony to their pacifist faith—with special relation to the task of making peace—and of showing how they believe pacifist principles can be applied to the changed situation following the use of the atomic bomb, was approved by the executive committee of the PPU on Tuesday.

COMING EVENTS . . .

"It will be recalled that it was Gen. Plumer, of the Army of Occupation, whose urgent telegram to the statesmen effected the virtual lifting of the blockade in 1919 . . . it would take a rash man to prophesy that Gen. Eisenhower will not, during this coming winter, play the role of Gen. Plumer, and bring the pressure of the humane eye-witness on the remote politician."

—Leading article in Peace News, May 25.

"Despite the crop prospects, which are described as generally good, the food situation in the American occupation zone in Germany is increasingly grave."

"Public health branch of the Army Occupation Forces is expected to recommend the raising of the caloric ration and it is therefore assumed that Gen. Eisenhower will advise his government that it will be necessary to import food to forestall famine."

—Evening Standard, Aug. 22.

The Crusade, the plan for which was put forward by the PPU Public Action Committee, is expected to take the same kind of form as the movement's Manifesto Campaign in the summer of 1938. On that occasion a motor-coachful of campaigners travelled from Carlisle to London, addressing large and small meetings in towns and villages on the way. The campaign ended with an impressive mass-demonstration in Hyde Park when the coach reached London.

The People's Peace Crusade, however, is intended to be a longer and more intensive effort.

Even before the news of the atomic bomb there was a feeling that the PPU had a responsibility to help to create a "People's Peace" and the Public Action Committee was intending to try to influence public opinion on the essentials of peace-making. The new discovery is regarded as an additional challenge.

"The shock which its use has given to the conscience of the world presents us with the opportunity for bringing home anew to the minds of everyone the wrongness and futility of modern war," says a Public Action Committee statement which sets out the basis for the Crusade.

This document will be published in Peace News next week, and will also be circulated to PPU groups and speakers.

C.B.C.O. REPORT

The sixth annual report of the Central Board for COs, written this time by Stephen J. Thorne, its vice-chairman, gives an interesting survey of the many kinds of activities involved in the Board's general task of looking after the interests of objectors. Some of the activities have remained the same from year to year—taking up bad cases of persecution, seeking to correct misrepresentation in the Press, and so on—but increased importance attaches this year to the question of COs' post-war employment and peace-time military conscription. The report is published under the title "An End in Sight," although Stephen Thorne makes it clear that in the wider sense there is no feeling that "our warfare is accomplished."

REGINALD REYNOLDS

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